

Polit. Pamphlet vol. 93.



A
LETTER

FROM A

Country Whig

To his Friend in London.



THE

LETTER

FROM A

COMMITTEE



To his friend in London.

THE

A
LETTER

FROM A

Country Whig,

TO HIS

Friend in **L O N D O N;**

Wherein appears,

Who are the Truest **FRIENDS**

To their

KING and COUNTRY.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *J. Morphew* near *Stationer's-*
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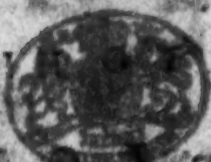
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A.

LETTER

FROM A

Country Whig.



Friend in A. N. D. W.

Whom in opposition

Who are the True Friends

to the

KING and COUNTRY.

LONDON.

Printed by J. W. Smith, at the Stationer's

(at the Old Printing)

A
LETTER

FROM

A Country WHIGG, &c.

My Dear FRIEND,

AS you wonder'd at an Alteration
you discover'd in my Temper,
by the Stile of one of my late
Letters, I doubt this will raise no
less Admiration, if the Stars have any
Power over us Mortals, and if that was
written under a jovial Influence, as you
fancy, you will believe, that now *Saturn*
is Lord of the Ascendant; I was then
indeed newly recover'd from the Pain
which a continual Succession of Fears

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had

had laid me under, from the time when the late *Tory* Ministry enter'd on the Stage, till the happy Accession of his Majesty to the Crown, all that while I was toss'd in a perpetual Storm, the Agitations in my Mind succeeding each other like Waves in the Sea. The Loss of Publick Credit and Trade, Alliances dissolv'd, Allies deserted, an unsafe Peace, and in the Close of all these, the terrible Thought of the Pretender, accompany'd with those dreadful Phantoms, Popery and Arbitrary Power, scarce allow'd me one calm Hour; I dream'd of nothing but Massacres and Murders, Fire and Faggot, Rags and wooden Shoes; I was every Minute in Expectation that our Sons would be all kill'd, and our Wives and Daughters ravish'd by Foreign *Popish* Armies of *French, Irish, Lorrainers*, and what not, who were to come the Lord knows whence, and the Lord knows how, and altho' there is not a *Papist* within Ten Miles of this Place, yet I could not sleep without first looking to be sure that there were no Fire-balls under my Bed, as if the sad Times of the *Popish Plot*, and the latter End of King *James's* Reign were again return'd. Whether there
were

were any Grounds for these dismal Apprehensions, or that they were only Fumes exhal'd from the Pamphlets and Discourses of our Party, and condensed in the Cavities of a too empty Pericranium, as some would then have persuaded me, and my self begin almost to suspect, I shall not here Dispute: Thus far I am certain, that if we were then in earnest, and had any Reasons for our Fears, those Reasons would naturally have been much strengthen'd, and multiplied on her late Majesty's Sickness and Death. If *Hannibal* had been at our Gates before, we might then have fear'd his entring into our City; it could not be thought the Queen would have consented to the Dethroning of Herself, or that the Tories would have thrown away a Certainty for an Uncertainty, but who could know what Steps might have been taken for ordering Matters, in Case of the Queen's Demise, and if the Church Party had been so ill affected, and so closely united with the House of *Bourbon*, as we would have the World believe, and that House was so Formidable as we sometimes think fit to represent it. Let us consider the Strength

Interest, and Number of that Party, and the Power they were then possess'd of, and what think you could have hinder'd the Execution of any of the imaginary Schemes, with which we have (perhaps not very truly) accus'd them. It was therefore the strangest Riddle in the World to me, that I should find in the News Papers, Stocks rising at that Article of time when the *Queen's* Life was despair'd of, and when I rather expected a Run upon the Bank and Exchequer, and that our Patriots would have been packing up their Alls, and Shipping off for *Holland* to take Refuge among our old Friends, and avoid the Evils to come. But how agreeable was my Surprize in the next Scene? When instead of all the Misery and Confusion which with Dread I expected, I saw nothing but Peace and Unanimity, when all Eyes how opposite soever, were center'd in one Point, and the *Protestant* Succession, which I thought so much in Danger, was not only submitted to, without the least Opposition or Hesitation, but own'd with the greatest Ardour and Alacrity. Our most gracious Sovereign King *George* was Proclaim'd with universal Joy and Satisfaction

faction, and Pleasure sat on those Faces, which were yet wet with Tears for the Loss of so good a Queen (pardon the Expression, if it be a Crime to call her good, all true English Men must ever be my fellow Sinners) I say, when the Face of publick Affairs appear'd with an Aspect, so different from what I expected, my Fears on a sudden vanish'd like Mists before the Sun; I could not but think there had been great Misrepresentations, both of Men and Things, that the *Devil* was not so black as he was Painted; that doubtless among the *Tories*, there were great Numbers of honest Men, and that the honest Men in both Parties meant the same Thing, and were agreed in the End, however they differ'd in the Means. I was apt to believe that our Heats and Divisions had been fomented, with no better Design than advancing particular Interest, at the Expence of the publick Safety, and Party only made a stalking Horse to Ambition. When after this, I heard that some of our Friends had Hopes of Encouragement, it fill'd my Joys still higher; as the Churchmen had by their Actions prov'd their good Inclinations to the Prot—— Succession, I thought

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an Opportunity was now put into our Hands, of convincing them of our Affection and Sincerity to the Church of *England*, and that *our Moderation would plainly be seen of all Men*. I hop'd that this good Agreement would put an End to all the invidious Distinctions, which had been so long and so justly lamented; yet at the same time, no less encourag'd, and that all our Party Feuds would be buried in the Grave of the *Stuarts*. I pleased my Imagination with Prospects of better Times, when the Throne of the King being supported by the Hearts and Hands of all his People, would make him universally belov'd and rever'd by his Subjects, courted by his Friends, and dreaded by his Enemies, and the Clouds of Faction which have hung over our Heads for above a Hundred Years past, being dispell'd, the British Glory might shine with a brighter Lustre than ever, and thus giving the Reins to my Fancy, I let her run thro' all the happy Scenes of a new *Golden Age*. But how vain and fleeting are all our Hopes in this World? The inconsiderable Number of Malecontents at his Majesty's first coming, was not worth Notice, but
how

how soon has a Cloud no bigger than a Man's Hand, overspread and darken'd the Face of Heaven. I must, my Friend, with my usual Frankness, tell you, that I doubt we have, like unskilful Conjurers, rais'd a Storm we shall not be able to allay : I fear we shall find our Friends our greatest Foes, and our new State Physicians more ignorant Quacks than they call'd their Predecessors ; they have already scratch'd a Pimple into an *Erysipilis*, and drench'd the Body Politick into Convulsions. I fear the Judgment of God hangs still over us, that we are not yet ripe for Mercy, but that our present Exaltation will only make our Fall the Greater : Pray Heaven we are not making good the Character of our Adversaries, that we can undermine but not support, and that we are better at pulling down than building up ; I must confess to you our present Power, as we have made Use of it, gives me no Satisfaction ; our Greatness has not added to our Strength, but is only like a Tumour in the Head, which has wasted and emaciated the Body. You, my Friend, understand very well, the Strength and Weakness of our Party ; It has not been from the Breadth
or

or Solidity of our own Foundations,
 that we have subsisted all this While,
 but our Structure has been supported
 by Buttresses on the Outside; if we
 raise it too high, and lay more Weight
 on the Roof, and at the same Time
 strike away our Buttresses, how can
 we possibly stand? while you are build-
 ing up your *Babel* above, those which
 are our Supporters every Day drop
 from us, and for every Friend you
 place there, you make forty Enemies
 here; you know our native Troops
 are very inconsiderable, compar'd with
 our Adversaries, and that the Strength
 of our Forces consist chiefly in Aux-
 iliaries and Deserters gain'd from the
 Enemy; these flying Squadrons have
 now generally left us, as great Num-
 bers of them join'd with us against
 the *Tories*, when we could perswade
 them the *Tories* did not act like *Eng-
 lishmen*; what can we say to them,
 when *Whigs* overact, whatever the
Tories could be accus'd of, I am puz-
 zled to answer the Objections which
 are continually started, nor do the
 Pamphlets I meet with enable me to
 parry the Thrusts made against us: I
 cannot slightly desert those to whom I
 have

have stuck fast in the worst of Times; perhaps there may be Reasons for the present Management, of which I am ignorant, help me out therefore, that I may be more capable of assisting you; furnish me with Arms, and I shall not fail making use of them to the utmost of my Ability. Let me give you the Substance of a Discourse I lately had with a Neighbour of mine, and thereby you will see the Disposition of this Part of the Country; the Gentleman I speak of has a moderate Estate, which he improves to the best Advantage, and keeping his Expences and Desires within the Compass of it, is happily free from other Hopes and Dependencies, and has never been blindly attach'd to any Party, but has voted and made his Interest, as he has thought most advantageous to his Country, and most for the Security of the Constitution both in *Church* and *State*, I therefore had Hopes of him, and endeavour'd to engage him for Sir ——— and Mr. ———, the Candidates set up by our Side for the next Election of Representatives in Parliament for this County, to which he gave me a frank Denial,

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not (as he said) that he had yet engag'd himself, but that in his present View of Affairs, he thought a Majority of the other Party in the House of Commons would be most serviceable both to the King and Kingdom ; I told him I was sorry to hear him talk in that Manner, that I hop'd he would consider better, and stand by the King's Friends ; that I shall (say's he) for those who are the truest Friends to the Constitution and to the Interest of the Nation are certainly the best Friends to the *King*, their Interests are inseparable, and whoever goes about to divide them is an *Enemy* to both. Now whatever Opinion I have sometimes entertain'd of some Proceedings of that Party, when my Apprehensions have made me look at them thro' Whiggish Spectacles, yet I must confess, that when I have made Use of my own Eyes, and my own Reason, and impartially weigh'd in the Scales of Justice, the Actions of the *Tories* against those of the opposite Faction, I could no longer ballance between them ; I have found one Sort always acting with a View to the publick Welfare and Honour of the Kingdom, and the

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Interest of our foreign Alliances, so far as was consistent with them, always firm to the Constitution, both Civil and Religious; always supporting, to the utmost of their Power, the publick Credit, the Prerogatives of the Crown, the Rights of the establish'd Religion, and the Liberties of their fellow Subjects: Whereas the others, however ambitious of the Title of Patriots, have acted by no publick Principle, but have always paid their false Worship to private Interest, to which Idol they have sacrific'd the Church, the Monarchy, and even the Kingdom it self; if the former have err'd, it has been thro' human Frailty; if ever these have done well, it was by Accident; so that if the Actions of Men are the truest Touchstone of their Characters, and from what they have done, any Judgment may be form'd what is to be expected from them: I think there can be no Room for Dispute, which are the fittest Men to represent the Body of the Kingdom, especially at this critical Juncture, when the publick Peace, Interest, and Safety of these Nations, and the Constitution and Govern-

ment, both in Church and State, are like to be very nearly concern'd in the Decisions of that Assembly.

For this very Reason (replied your humble Servant) I must crave Leave to be of Opinion, that those with whom you seem so enamour'd, are the most unfit Men in the World to be trusted at this Time; you Tories have an excellent Talent at reconciling Contradictions, but if you could perswade me that the Advocates for Arbitrary Power are the best Patrons of Liberty, and that those who come nearest to Popery are the best Protestants, and those who betrayed our Allies were the Supporters of the Nation you shall never perswade me to believe that the Assertors of indefeasible hereditary Right are the truest Friends to the present Settlement of the Crown: This is too transparent not to be seen through, and thank Heaven, we have a Prince on the Throne of too much Penetration to be so grossly imposed on. Our second Hopes has nobly declar'd, that the Maxim of this Royal Family is To reward their Friends and do Justice to their Enemies: And by the Distribution of Preferments, the Maxim is sufficiently explain'd. Let me tell you they know their Friends, and they know their Enemies, and know how to deal with both

both according to their Merits ; and I am sure I shall always desire to have the Parliament House fill'd with their Friends as well as their Palace, for I cannot see how the Government can be supported by their Enemies.

Well shot truly (says he) and I suppose you fancy you have done great Execution, but how if you have aim'd at a Pigeon and only kill'd a Crow. You recommend the Talent of the Tories at reconciling Contradictions ; but there are some Things above their Capacity, they cannot reconcile *Anarchy* with good Government, *Resistance* with *Loyalty*, *Schism* with *Uniformity*, nor the Notion of *Liberty* with the Practice of *Tyranny*, all which the Whiggs can easily do, as they can prove in Spite of woful Experience, that *Trade* and *Prosperity* are increas'd by *War* and *Poverty*, but Raillery apart, and let us come to Fact, Calumnies and Accusations amount to no Convictions, nor is Recrimination any Proof of Innocence, but if we compare the Actions of both Parties, we shall easily distinguish who are the truest Friends both to the King and Government.

But in the first Place let me lay it down

down as an undeniable Postulate, that all Governments are founded upon certain fundamental Rules and Maxims which be receded from without making an entire Alteration or subverting the Constitution of that Government and substituting something else in its Place. A Form of Laws and Government, founded upon such Rules and Maxims, as are well adapted to the Situation of the Country, and the Genius of the People, being like a curious Machine, exactly compos'd, which moves with Order and Regularity, and perfectly answers the Design of the Artist; no Alteration can be made in it, but with the greatest Care and Judgment, otherwise the least Change in the Simmetry and Disposition of its Parts, spoils the whole Composition; nay, the taking out any one Pin may loosen its Joints and obstruct its Operations; therefore the Order and Welfare of every wellsettled Government depends upon the steady Maintenance of it; those Men who in their Actions and Resolutions endeavour to preserve it as intire and inviolate, as the Difference of Times and Seasons will permit, must be esteem'd Friends to the Government; and those who aim at its Alteration

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or Subversion, ought to be look'd upon as its Enemies, and any Combination of such is truly term'd a Faction.

The Civil Government here establish'd is Monarchy, but under such Limitations, as secure the Liberties of the Subjects, and yet leave the *King* a Power sufficient to maintain the Honour of his Person and Government, and to do every Thing which conduces to the Good of the whole Community. The Government of the Church is exactly suited to that of the State, and agreeable to the Primitive Apostolical Institutions, and the Tenor of our Laws so adapted to both, that the Alteration of any one Part must produce the Disorder and Ruin of the Whole, as has been once too sadly experienc'd.

It is plain, therefore, how much it is the Duty of every good Patriot, nay, of every good Subject, in his Station, to support the Constitution of a Government so wisely establish'd, and preserve the several Parts of it in their due Proportion, and a just Balance to each other; those who have done this, are good Men, and good Friends to the Government; and as for those who have endeavour'd to break thro', or undermine

mine, or refused, or neglected, to secure any Part of it when Occasion requir'd ; I shall leave it to your self to give them their proper Epithets.

Now, if we look back from the first Rise of our unhappy popular Divisions, to these Times, we shall find, that those who acted on the Principles of which the Owners are now called *Tories*, by whatever Title of Distinction they were known, have always been the greatest Supporters of the *Monarchy*, and of the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, for the Maintainance of which, they have freely sacrific'd not only their Fortunes, but their Lives ; the Oceans of Blood lost in the Defence of One of their Monarchs, and unjustly invaded by the other Party, can never be restor'd, and as to their Estates, it may be safely affirm'd in general, that the Families of this Party have lost and expended more, in their Loyal and Faithful Services to the Throne, than ever they have gain'd from its Bounty and Favour.

As these Men in general, look upon it to be very convenient, that Mankind should live in the Profession of some Religion, as they think that which is
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here establish'd, to have been wisely and piously reform'd, and restor'd to as near a Resemblance as possible, of the ancient Model of Primitive Christianity, and as it is settled by our Laws, and so closely united with the civil Government, that it is become an essential Part of our Constitution, and that any considerable Alteration, must not only be for the worse in its self, but must also be attended with such Consequences, as may probably hazard the public Peace, and draw many Inconveniences on the State: They have on these Considerations, always endeavour'd to Preserve and Support it, and as its Enemies have made Breaches in its Walls, have been ready to add such new legal Fences, as were thought necessary for its Safety.

Their firm Adherence to the Crown, and the Church, made those who were constantly undermining and weakning both one and the other, unjustly blacken them, as Lovers of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, which was done to render them odious to the Populace, whose weak Heads, the Emisaries of the *Whiggs* and their Ancestors, maliciously and industriously intoxicated, by

continually infusing Fears and Jealousies, where there was hardly a Possibility of Danger, to hinder them from discovering the Pits which that designing Faction were all the while digging under their Feet, and this has been the real Difference for above a Century of Years; the Endeavours of one Party have been employ'd to support the Constitution both in Church and State, and the other has been no less zealous to subvert them.

Thus was the Contest carried on with various Success through the Reigns of our Three first Monarchs of the *Scottish* Line; One of them was by those Sons of *Belial* brought to the Block, the Government both in Church and State was intirely subverted, and the loyal Party, for a while, totally subdu'd: But in the next Reign, gathering Strength, all the Attacks of the opposite Faction fell upon themselves, their Plots and Conspiracies were fully detected, their Devices confounded, and their Malice defeated in such a Manner, that King *Charles* the 2d had the Happiness to see them at his Feet before he died; and after all the Attempts to break into the Succession, and curtail the Prerogatives
of

of the Crown, his Brother enter'd on a full and peaceable Possession of the Rights designed for him by the Laws of God and Man, and the Invasions which were soon after made to disturb him, being so easily quell'd, seem'd to rivet him yet faster on his Throne. And, undoubtedly, had he known how to distinguish his Friends from his Enemies, and had adher'd to those who had not only put, but preserv'd the Crown upon his Head, his Reign had ended as happily as it begun, and he had made a Figure in our Histories very different from that in which he now appears. But that unhappy Prince having some other Views, and making some Steps which excited the Jealousy of those who were as good Patriots as Subjects, it soon appear'd with what Justice, or Colour, they had been charged with favourable Inclinations, either to *Popery* or *Arbitrary Power*; the Proceedings of his Parliament, where the *Tory* Interest was stronger than in any One that ever sat in *England*, ought, for ever to silence those Calumnies; he could neither prevail with them to admit of a Standing Army, to continue his Popish Officers, or to allow a Toleration, which they

thought was design'd to strengthen the Popish Cause; and as they would not alter the Laws, they freely, tho' respectfully represented to him, what they thought of his dispensing with them by his own Power; yet to shew that this did not proceed from a Spirit of Persecution, or a Distrust of the King, they rejected a Motion for an Address to put the Laws in Execution against Dissenters, and resolv'd to rely on his Majesty's Promise, that he would preserve the establish'd Religion. But he finding the Parliament would not go his Lengths, parted from them in an ill Humour, and turning short upon his Loyal Subjects, struck in with the Dissenters; they and the Papists were immediately in Mr. *Baxter's* Phrase, like *Two Sticks* made One. How different were the Parts now play'd, the discouraged Party preserv'd the Respect due to the Person of their Sovereign, but would not give Way to any Invasions on the Laws, quietly resigning their Offices, when they could no longer act in them, with Honour to themselves, and Justice to their Country; the Clergy finding the Incroachments of the Papists, bravely stood in the Gap, and did

did not think that the King's Order concerning Preachers, could dispense with their Duty to God, or those committed to their Charge, they continu'd boldly to exert their Learning both in their Pulpits and with their Pens, against the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, and to warn their Flocks of their Danger, nor did the Sufferings of *Dr. Sharp* or the Bishop of *London* deter the rest of that venerable Body, but rather confirm'd their Steadfastness and Resolution. Had all done thus, there had been no Occasion for a Revolution; for what can a King of *England* do of himself, and when a Parliament meets, ill Ministers are easily call'd to Account, but the *Whiggs* and *Dissenters* had other Fish to fry, it was a Change of Government which they wanted, and their Masters the Dutch were to take Care that *England* should not grow too rich and powerful by Peace and Commerce; to compass these great Ends, such Treachery, Hypocrisy and Villany was put in Practice as could never be paralell'd but by the same Party: How was that credulous Prince abused and put upon such Measures as they were sure would render him obnoxious to the People, whom

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at the same time they inflamed against the Result of their own pernicious Councils, to what a stupendious Pitch of Villany must those Men be arriv'd, who could fawningly address the King with Wishes that God Almighty had made Windows in their Breasts, that he might see the Sincerity of their Intentions, when at the same Time they were contriving to turn him out of his Kingdoms, in order to which, as if God could also be deceiv'd; that Arch-Traitor *Sund*———*d*, who perhaps thought there was no such Being, and who was not before suspected to be of any Religion, pretended to a sudden Conversion to that of his Prince, that by gaining a greater Credit with him, he might more easily work his Destruction. By these laudable Methods every Thing was in a short Time brought into such Confusion, that the whole Nation, not seeing into the Bottom of the Design, and believing themselves in a desperate Condition, swallow'd the Prescription for which they had been purposely made sick; and thus this worthy Faction once more compassed their Ends.

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To your great Grief, I suppose, (said I) but with all your Pretence of Publick Spirit, surely, if you were so much a Lover of your Country as you would be thought, you would have pass'd over any small Irregularities, which might possibly have been committed to bring about the Revolution, considering the great Advantages which these Nations have receiv'd from it. I cannot (replied he) be so much a Disciple of the Jesuits as to believe that we ought to do Evil that Good may come of it; but I confess I cannot see the great Felicity of squandering an hundred and twenty Millions Sterling, to make our selves the Cudgels of our Allies, without any Prospect of Advantage, but being batter'd to the Stumps in their Service, of pouring out our Treasures like Water to enrich our Neighbours Lands, and stoping the Course of Trade to turn it into Foreign Channels and starve ourselves, or of being plunder'd to raise some upstart R——s out of Obscurity into a formidable Condition of Splendor and Opulence. But whether the Nation has yet receiv'd any Benefit from it or not, both we and our Posterity may justly now expect to reap a very plentiful Harvest of Blessings. As the

the present Settlement of the Crown on the August Family now in Possession of it, was one of the Effects of that Revolution, which Heaven has made Use of as the Means to this glorious End, I shall say with *Lucan*.

*Quod si non aliam venturo Fata NERONI
Invenere viam; Magnaq; aeterna parantur
Regna Deis; Caelumq; suo servire Tonanti,
Non nisi Sevorum potuit post Bella Gigantum:
Jam nihil o Superi querimur scelera ipsa nefasq;
Hac Mercede placent.*

I told him, That tho' I thought this too hard upon the Revolution, I was glad to hear he was so well affected to the Protestant Succession, but that I hop'd he had too much Justice to deny the Whigs to be undoubted Friends to his Majesty, and his Royal Issue; and too much Modesty to justify the Carriage of the Tories, either to him, or his glorious Predecessor, King William, of immortal Memory, that I thought the Tables were turn'd, and if ever they should hereafter accuse the Whigs of Faction, or Sedition, they must expect a Rowland for their Oliver; and that their late Tumults and Riots, would be upon Record against them, which I hop'd would for ever stop their Mouths on those Topicks.

Gently,

Gently, Sir, I beseech you, reply'd my Friend, Let us proceed in Order : I doubt if we bring your Loyalty to these two Monarchs to the Touchstone of Truth, it will be found merely Counterfeit, and that you serv'd them, only to serve your selves by them, and without any Regard to the Good of the Publick, or the true Interest of the Prince, who has been only made a kind of Scaffold-
 ing to raise your own Building. With what Fidelity and Disinterestedness your Noble Chiefs, to whom you now pay Homage, serv'd King *William*, is highly notorious? But that their Rapines and Plunders might be winked at, and to support themselves by a Party, they were willing to commute, by obliging the Dissenters, at the Expence of the National Religion; and on the other Hand, to keep themselves in Favour, they were no less ready to Compliment the King with our Liberties, both which it had lately cost the Nation so dear to maintain. The Dissenters were encourag'd into Hopes of driving on here, as in *Scotland*, and on the meeting of the Convention Parliament, a Bill was forthwith brought in, to take away the *Test Act*, which is the
 E greatest

greatest Bulwark of the Church of England, and against which, King James had made all his Efforts. Another Bill was also brought in, call'd, *A Comprehension Bill*, but intended to new Model the Church of England, which with some other Proceedings, gave a just Alarm to the Members of that Church; and tho' her Genuine Sons were not then the strongest Party in the House of Commons, yet some others being unwilling to open themselves by a Negative; an Address was agreed on, to thank the King for his Declaration, *that he would maintain the Church of England, establish'd by Law*, which he had recover'd from Danger, with the Hazard of his Royal Person, adding, *That the Doctrine and Practice of the Members of the Church of England, had evinc'd their Loyalty, beyond the Contradiction of her most malicious Enemies, and that the Misfortunes of former Princes, could be attributed to nothing more, than their Endeavours to subvert and disable the Members thereof, from contributing to their Support and Defence.* They therefore pray'd his Majesty, *to continue his Care for the Preservation of the same, whereby he would effectually establish his Throne,*
by

by securing the Hearts of his Subjects, within these his Realms, who could no way better shew their Zeal for his Service, than by a firm Adherence to that Church, which is best suited to the Support of this Monarchy. This noble Address was not receiv'd by the King, without Surprise, the Strength of the Dissenting Interest had been vastly magnify'd to him in England, as well as in Scotland; they know very well, that a Reputation of Strength, Riches, or Wisdom, is often as serviceable as the Things themselves, as was experienc'd in Scotland, where they are not, nor ever have been the strongest Party, since the Restoration of Charles the Second, which may be undeniably made appear; but no Wonder it is not generally believ'd, when the Noise, either of their Boasts or Clamours have possess'd almost all our Neighbouring Nations, that in them consists the greatest Strength, even in this Part of Britain. This brisk Repulse, put the King off from his Scent, he was not so zealous in Matters of Religion, as to make them any Obstruction to his main Design, so that all he did afterwards, was by preferring such Men, both in Church and State,

whose Indifference in those Concerns, might at length produce the Effects, which could not be suddenly accomplish'd; and thus the Tories sav'd the Church of *England* from the Claws of *Presbytery*, as in the last Reign they had rescu'd her from the Jaws of *Po-pery*; but still preserv'd such a Temper, as readily to come into an Act, for the Ease of *Protestant Dissenters*, by exempting them from the Penalties of former Laws, under the Authority of which Piece of Indulgence, these tender Conscienc'd Gentlemen have since had the Modesty to call themselves the Church of *England*, established by Law. Thus much as to the Affairs of Religion in that Reign. My Time will not permit me to take Notice of the smaller Incidents, either in Parliament or Convocation, wherein the Parties were constantly distinguished in the same Manner, one always picking at the Digues of the establish'd Religion, and the other always endeavouring to repair the Breaches. In Civil Affairs, the *Tories* served the King as far as was consistent with the Honour and Interest of their Country and the Liberties of their Fellow Subjects,

Subjects, they freely assisted to carry on the War and support the Credit of the Nation, and the Expences of the Civil Government, but could not patiently look on and see the vast Sums given to those Uses, squander'd and misapplied, or the Lands and Revenues of the Crown made a Prey to greedy Courtiers: They complied with every Thing to support the King's Honour and true Interest, but they never proposed how he might Rule by a standing Army without Parliaments, they could not approve of Dispensations with that great Barrier of our Liberties the Act of *Habeas Corpus*. They did not like Acts of *Attainder*, to oblige the Court by taking off obnoxious Heads, if they were not to be reach'd by the Common Forms of Law, nor *Post Factum* Laws to forfeit great Estates for small Crimes, to gratify the Longing of a Favourite. They were not for making more Breaches in the Course of Succession than were absolutely necessary, that the Government might carry a greater Air of an elective Monarchy, nor for running the Nation precipitately into a second War at all Disadvantages, while the Wounds of the first were still bleeding

ing. These were the Crimes of the Tories, and the Contraries of these were the Virtues of the Whigs in that Reign. King *William* was, in the Beginning of his Reign, by old Engagements and Prejudices, inclined to the the Latter, till he discover'd their Plunderings and Corruptions, their large Undertakings and weak Performances, and their Disservices both to him and their Country, which was thereby made so uneasy that it reflected on the King himself, who for these Reasons was obliged to lay them by, and nothing could have brought them in again, but the King's strong Propensity to War, and the Dutch Interest to plunge us once more into it, for which Work these were thought the properest Tools. How both Parties behaved in the Reign of her late Majesty, I shall here take no further Notice than is necessary to my present Purpose; but for a fuller Account of that, to the last Change of her Ministry, and also of the Behaviour of both Parties thro' the preceeding Reigns, shall refer you to a Book published, some time since, and intituled, a *Caveat against the Whigs*, in four Parts, and when

when you have read, speak as you find, neither shall I here take upon me the Vindication of her last Ministry, not that I think it a difficult but a needless Task. Their Works will praise 'em in the Gate, and tho' the Clouds of Faction obscure their Merit at the present, it is hoped that the Truth will soon shine out, and the Scales fall from the Eyes of the present Age, that their Characters may not wait for Justice from Posterity. I believe you can't mistake me. You would not imagine if I were praising the Acts of the *Apostles*, that I intended a Panegyrick upon *Judas*. But as to all the Objections which have been made against what was done under her Majesty's Authority in the four last Years of her Reign; they may easily be reduc'd to two Heads, the Management of the Treaty of Peace, and the whimsical Stuff concerning the Pretender, both which, when they come to be examined, will be found *Voces & preterea Nihil*, the empty Clamour of a restless Faction, who never could be pleased with any Thing but what they do themselves, and never did any Thing but what must be displeasing to every honest *Briton*. With what Front
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can they tell us our Allies were deserted, when if we look into the publick Acts and other Accounts relating to the Treaty and consider with what Openness and Frankness the British Court treated all her Allies, and on the other Hand, what Intrigues were carried on between a Faction here and several foreign Princes and Ministers to oppose any beginning of a Treaty, and when they fail'd in that, to baffle and obstruct the Proceedings in it, and as it were, to have impress'd us into a foreign Service during their good Pleasure, we shall wonder at the Temper and Firmness of the Queen and her Ministers, that what these clamorous Wretches unjustly complain of was not really done, and that notwithstanding all the Obstructions and Provocations which her Majesty and those who manag'd that Treaty, met with, they should persist to procure such Terms for all Parties, as were either possible or reasonable, and better than the ungrateful Carriage of some of them deserv'd. How can a Briton exclaim against that as a bad Peace, by which, more was granted to his Country than was so much as demanded in
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the famous Preliminaries two Years before, when the Affairs of the French King were by Sword and Famine reduc'd to so low a Condition, that our Blood-Suckers and War-Drivers were afraid he would have yielded all they could ask, and if some of our Allies had not so much as they expected, why did they not make use of that fair Opportunity, or why did they afterwards enter on such cross grain'd imprudent Measures as were likely to dissolve the Treaties of Alliance, as well as the Treaty of Peace, and have render'd a War as impracticable as a Peace unattainable, unless we had submitted to such Terms as must have nail'd us to the Chariot Wheels of a *Confederacy*. When these things are look'd into and duly consider'd, it will be found that those who manag'd that Treaty on the Part of *Great Britain* deserve Statues from the Publick, instead of Censure ; and then it will be easily judg'd what those deserve who rais'd Objections against it, to hinder us from reaping the Advantages of it, and to hurry us into the Calamities of a new War. The other Noise about the *Pretender* was not rais'd without as bad, or worse Designs ; when your

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Leaders found they could neither run down the Publick Credit nor obstruct the Peace, and thereby force the Queen to a Change of Measures, and having no Reason to think she would voluntarily again put her self and the Government into the Hands of those who had lately used both so ill, they then renew'd their Applications to another Court, to ingratiate themselves and secure a better Prospect in the next Reign; but considering the extraordinary Industry more than common, even to your own restless Party, which was then used to infuse Jealousies and Discontents both here and Abroad, it is to be feared there was something more in Agitation than merely to forestall the Market of Preferment. I would not think you worse than you really are, and therefore I cannot but wish for your own Sakes, that your Impatience to take Possession did not bring blacker Work upon the Anvil, and those Heats were not blown up with Design to strike while the Iron was hot. Whether the Death of her Majesty hinder'd the finishing of the Project, or was made a shorter and a safer Way to answer the Ends of it, which

which otherwise might have cost the Undertakers too dear, I shall not determine; but your seditious Carriage to that good Lady whilst living, the Malice and Contempt wherewith you have trampled on her Ashes since her Death, your hereditary Respect for that Family, your avow'd Principles and former Practices, the Lies and Stories daily raised, just as in the memorable Year 1688, the pretended Danger of the Succession and the Protestant Religion, under all the real Securities which could be desired, the mysterious Journey of a certain Monarch into *Holland*, the unreasonable Urgency of the D. of M— for his return Home, and the Encouragement given to it here, and his ridiculous Triumph at his Entrance, and lastly, the much fairer Pretence which the Dutch had to interfere in our Affairs and assist their Correspondents than they had in the former Revolution, when there was no Barrier Treaty to colour an Invasion of that Kind, but the strongest Stipulations to the Contrary. All these Circumstances, being laid together, it will not out of my Head but that the same Game was to be plaid over again. But whether upon

the indifferent Prospect of Success, by the Deafness of the People to all your howling, and their perfect Ease and Security under her Majesty's Government, a Course still more impious was not taken, to make sure Work, there is great Reason to suspect. It is very well known that the Queen, had for some time enjoy'd a better State of Health than she was usually blest'd with, yet at that Time a very short Period was set to the Continuance of her Life, by several Whigs and Dissenters who presum'd in a Manner to pass Sentence of Death upon her, nor are there wanting several other pregnant Suspicions of foul Play ; and as it is certain, that too many among you wish'd for her Death, and rejoice at it, 'tis as certain, that some of you will stick at nothing to compass your Desires ; but whether she went or was sent off the Stage, you cannot help owning it was done just in the Nick, as if on Purpose, to make Room for you to go on with your Plot. By the forc'd Smile on your Face and the shaking of your Head, you seem to think that this is only Notion, and doubtless if there was any such Purpose, you and many more may be ignorant
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of it; those Plots are not to be open'd till the last Act, but I can shew you some other Steps leading to the Revolution, and match them so exactly, that you must confess they lead the same Way. The Cry of *Popery* was as loud in one as the other, and Books and Pamphlets were daily published to render it ridiculous or terrible, according to the Genius of the Writer. A certain *R. R. R.* deeply concern'd in the Secret of Revolution Intrigues, had so good a Nose, that he could plainly smell the Fires re-kindling to Spitchcock Protestants, and was in much Concern for his own dear greasy Carcass: A Brother of his remembering what Service Doctor *Wake's* Translation of the Miracles of the Host had formerly done, thought that the Life of St. *Winifred* must needs be a very useful Treatise. Facetious *Dick St--le* put on a grave Countenance, as it became him in such a time of Danger and besides his *Crisis*, of which the Title explains the Design, and his other Writings for which he receiv'd not quite due Correction, *Richard* being well read in the Sex and knowing what Power the good Women have over their Husbands, address'd himself to the Parsons Wives, path-

pathetically representing over and over, what a terrible Thing it would be, to be rob'd of their dear Spouses, to be turn'd off with the Scandal of Strumpets, and their Children to be illegitimated, if this would not work it's strange. Another, at the end of a tedious Declamation, swell'd to five Shillings Price, speaks with great Confidence of a happy approaching Deliverance, as he calls it; a third, under the Name of *Britannus*, Still abuses a Text of Scripture in his Title Page, *He that hath not a Sword let him sell his Garment, and buy one*, and what should they do but make use of it, if their Throats were in Danger? as the drift of his Pamphlet would make 'em believe. We were equally terrify'd with French Leagues and Invasions, in both these Undertakings; in the former, *Portsmouth* was to be surrender'd to them, and in the latter, honest *Johnny Gibson* was frighted with a prodigious Embarcation in *Nubibus*, design'd against it, and *Dunkirk* was to be given up undemolish'd. How often has Lord *Proteus* bragg'd of the great Service done by his Ballad of *Lilliburlero*? And had we not a second

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Part to the same Tune, with a much more intelligible Chorus?

*Over, over, H——r over
Haste to relieve the Church and the State,
Haste over H——r, as soon as you can over
Put in your Claim, before 'tis too late.*

Could all these Revolution Practices be intended for nothing, by Men of Revolution Principles? However, I hope they are mistaken, who fancy, that if the Bears's Skin had not been shared, before he was hunted down, it could not have been so readily divided afterwards; and that the large Sums, as well as Employments, given to some great Men might, by Debts, by Contracts, rather than Gifts of Favour. For my part, I think there lies a strong Objection against these Suspicions, which is the known Integrity, Honour and Justice of the Prince, whom the Law had appointed to succeed the Queen. I am fully satisfy'd, that he was utterly incapable of the least Step towards the Throne, by any indirect Way, or to take Possession of it, before his due time, his Motto, *In recto Decus*, proves him highly sensible, that
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there can be no true Greatness, without Justice, and that a Crown acquired at the Expence of Honour and Conscience, is not a Mark of Glory, but a Brand of Infamy, on the Forehead of him who wears it. But if he could have been persuaded by the Artifices of your Party, that so fair a Succession had been really in Danger, they would not have been wanting, either in proposing, or justifying Methods to secure it; and when extraordinary Courses are once begun, no Man knows where they may end; unforeseen Accidents, or Opportunities, may produce a Conclusion, quite different from what was at first intended. But whatever Notions the Leaders of your Faction had in their Heads, certainly, if they had been hir'd to ruin the Interest they pretended to support, there had been no Method so feasible, as kindling Jealousies, and blowing the Coals of Division, between the Possessor of the Throne, and her appointed Successor; nor could they have taken any Course, which more expos'd themselves and their Followers to Destruction. The Queen was generally well belov'd, and repeated Provocations will sour the sweetest Tempers;

pers so that had the Misunderstandings they fomented, been brought to such a *Crisis*, as would no longer have admitted of common Forms. It makes me tremble, when I think what might have been the Consequences, the worst of what was pretended to be fear'd, might have been the best, which in such a Case could have been expected, and whether Advances were not made beyond a Possibility of Retreat. There may be room to Question.

But the Death of that ever memorable Queen, has put an End to these Speculations, and his Majesty is, to your great Disappointment, peaceably and happily seated on his Throne, by those very Men, whom your Party falsely represented as his Enemies, which, if a *Whig* could blush, would dye their Faces with the deepest Scarlet of Confusion ; but they scorn to be asham'd, like *Catiline* they still go on ; the Ills they have done cannot be safe, but by committing greater ; and the Memory of old Injuries is to be cover'd by new. It is our very great Misfortune, that his Majesty is so much a Stranger, that the Misrepresentations of a Faction can make any Impressions capable of producing

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ducing the Effects, which we have seen with Wonder, equal to our Concern, and so contrary from what it was reasonable to expect from his Majesty's known Wisdom and Justice. We must acknowledge with the grave Serjeants, who were last called to that Honour, in the Law, that what we have seen was in Truth *plus quam expectavimus*.

I had with much Patience let the good Man run on in his long Harangue, but here I could not forbear cutting him short; I told him, I supposed that his Friends expected to rule the Roast as they had done; but if they were disappointed, that ought not to put the whole Party out of Humour; that certainly the King might have as much Liberty as a private Gentleman in the Choice of his own Servants; but pray, said I, why do you call his Majesty's peaceable Possession of his Throne a Disappointment to us; an unexpected Happiness deserves another Name; we were indeed in Fear of the Pretender, and thought his Interest, both here and abroad, stronger than it seems it really was, and this is the true Meaning of the Serjeants Motto; we did apprehend there would have been Opposition.

If One of your Leaders (says he) could have told me so without laughing, I should have thought him the greater Rascal, whatever you fear'd, they hop'd it, they wanted it for a Foundation ; it was by representing the King's best Friends as his Enemies ; that they had secured the Reversion of their Employments, and the least Disturbance of that Kind would have done 'em great Service, for want of which, they have been put to a pitiful Shift to provoke the Church-Party into Resentments, and the Populace into Riots ; to which they gave the Title of Rebellions, in hopes to serve their Purpose Two Ways, by charging the whole Party as Enemies, to discourage them at Court, and by treating them as such, to awe them in the Country ; and thus, as they got into Power, they hoped to secure it ; but I am apt to believe, this Trick has opened the Eyes of all Mankind to such a Degree, that the *Bristol* Expedition, and the other Proceedings in the like Matters, will hardly answer the Expence.

But if the Country seems uneasy, it is not on the Account of any particular Persons being put out of Employment ; there are doubtless many others very ca-

pable of serving their King and their Country, and I hope, tho' it was hardly to be allow'd Four Years ago, that there is not now One Man, either *Whig*, or *Tory*, that will deny that a King, or Queen, of *Britain*, may employ whoever they think fit, within the Limits of legal Qualifications. But if this is all you have to say, you cannot offer a greater Affront to his Majesty, *Stat pro Ratione Voluntas*, is a Motto he would scorn as much as that which your Friends had invented for his Coronation Medal; is it so much as a tolerable Excuse, even in private Affairs, that Men may do so, or so, if they please, I may ride the Elephant if I please, as *Dorimant* says in the Play, but would that prove me the wiser Man for so doing; our Reason, not our Will, ought to be the Rule of our Actions, and no Man not under a total Absence of Thought, deserts this Rule, but when he is misled by false Appearances, or drawn aside by a strong Byass of Passion. There is no doubt therefore, but that so wise a Prince as we are now blessed with, do's not so much consider what he may do by the Extent of his Prerogative, (which is always weaken'd
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by stretching,) as what Justice requires, what in Prudence is advisable, and what may conduce to the Honour, Interest and Safety of himself and his People. But the wisest of Kings are but Men, and if the wisest Men are liable to great and fatal Errors in the narrow Channells of private Life, how difficult must it be to steer a right Course in the wide turbulent Ocean of publick Government. If our own Senses often impose on our Understandings, those who are obliged to rely not only on the sensitive Organs, but on the Judgments and Honesty of other Men, may easily be led into Mistakes. This has been the Misfortune of his Majesty's Predecessors, altho' some of them were far from wanting Genius and Capacity, and being born and educated among us, had the Advantage of a good Insight into the Interests and Tempers of the People in general, and a full View of the Characters of Men and Families, before they came to the Exercise of Government: Whereas it is to be feared, his Majesty has yet seen but one Side of the Picture, and that Profile not truly drawn, but according to the Painter's Humour, made to resemble an Angel or a Devil; by which

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Dawbing those Countenances may be recommended as Ornaments to a Royal Palace, which would better become hanging in another Place. And no others being suffer'd to appear, that the Cheat may not be discover'd, Beauty may be exploded and Deformity come in Fashion. If any are now discontented it is upon this Score ; the greatest Number of those who seem apprehensive of the present Management, are amongst the honest Country Gentlemen and Yeomanry, who lie quite out of the Way of Court Preferments. These would hardly trouble their Heads about the Disposal of Offices there, if the Effects of it were likely to be confined within that Circle ; but when Loyalty becomes a Crime, and an honest Zeal for the Establishment in Church and State, is esteem'd a Disqualification ; when not only all the Posts of Honour and Profit are divided like the Shares of a Prize among the bold Captors, but even Offices of Trouble and Burden are zealously courted and bribed for ; when all Methods fair and foul are every where taken, to exclude every Man who has ever shewn any Concern or Care for the established Religion, or so much as acted

acted in Concert with any such, from all Offices or Preheminences both in the Counties and Corporations, and the least Share in the Civil Government or Legislature; when the Royal Maxim, which you introduc'd in the Beginning of this Conference, and which rightly used is at once an Ornament and Support of Government, does by its present Application and by the Extent and Universality of these Changes, seem to reflect an Imputation upon the best and greatest Part of the Kingdom; can they think you sit down unconcern'd? But more especially when they have Reason to apprehend that the Reflections cast on their Persons and Principles are intended as Preliminaries to some Work, which, if we may judge of the Tools, is not likely to be advantageous either to their Sovereign, their Country or their Religion. Can they carelessly and basely abandon all these, and yield up every Thing that is dear to them, together with themselves, a willing Sacrifice to their Adversaries.

The most generous Natures are the least able to bear undeserved Suspicions or Censures, and therefore the present pointing of that excellent Maxim lately mention'd

mention'd; cannot but fill those Hearts with Grief which are conscious to themselves and their Owners, that they abound with the truest Affections to his Majesty, of which they have always given the most undeniable and convincing Proofs, if they find themselves in such unhappy Circumstances, they hope they may be permitted to vindicate their Honour, lest the World should think they cannot, and Silence should be taken for Confession. But were there no Need of Vindication, it can certainly be no criminal Emulation to contend who are most worthy of his Majesty's good Opinion and Favour, and best deserve the Title of his truest Friends and most faithful Subjects. We wish that this was the only Strife between the two Parties, into which we are now so unhappily divided.

As the inward Affections are best discern'd by outward Actions, if we look back into the real Services which each Party hath done for his Majesty and the Interest of his Family, any indifferent Judge will easily decide this Question, when it appears that the Settlement of the Succession of the Crown in that illustrious House, was the Work of a
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Tory Parliament, of that very Tory Parliament which was Libel'd with *Black Lists*, *Legion Letters*, and sawcy *Petitions*, perhaps upon that Account, as much as any other, because it prevented those Confusions, out of which, probably, the Golden Calf of a Republick was to have been Cast, they did not indeed go into a like Proposal in the beginning of that Reign, when the Succession was doubly Guarded, and when the advancing such a Project seem'd to have no good Designs. But after the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Security of our Liberties and Religion, seem'd to depend on one Life, after the King then Reigning, neither of which was favour'd with a Constitution of Body, which promis'd a long Duration, and the threatning Cloud of a New War hanging over our Heads, which might have brought us into the utmost Confusion, had we been depriv'd of those two, when so engag'd and unprovided. It was the first Care of that honest Parliament, to secure our Peace and Happiness, by a further Limitation of the Crown, on the next Protestant Heirs, for the further Security of which Succession, they have

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ever since promoted every thing, which they thought added any real Strength to it, and often join'd in such Proposals, as were more invidious than necessary; for notwithstanding this Settlement was their own Deed, their Enemies have still had the Front to asperse them with a Disaffection to it, and to raise Arguments for their groundless Pretences, to oppose those very Acts, without which, all that had been done before, to secure the Protestant Succession, had possibly been frustrated; I mean the late Treaties of Peace. I confess, had the Succession been neglected, and wilfully omitted at *Utrecht*, as it was by the good Protestant Managers at *Ryswick*, where the French King was oblig'd no further than to own the then Possessor of the Crown, there had been room enough to raise Objections. But when by the Peace it self, the Hopes of the Pretender and his few Friends were cut off, by preventing any Foreign Encouragement, and when by the Terms of it, the Kings, both of *France* and *Spain*, were firmly oblig'd to Renounce the Interest of the Pretender, and to acknowledge the Parliamentary Settlement of the Succession.

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How can they who manag'd these Treaties be censur'd on this Head? Could the Clamours and Opposition of the *Whigs* have prevented the Peace, and forc'd us back into the Miseries of a ruinous, unequal Land War, had not our Enemies been at Liberty to take such Measures, as were most likely to Distress and Ruin these Kingdoms, which they esteem'd the Head of the Confederacy, and on the Death of the Queen, had the terrible *Chevalier* the 10th Part of the Interest which they pretend, could Ten or Twenty Thousand Men have been better bestow'd for that Purpose, than by being Landed on some Part of these Islands, to bring the War we were so fond of Home to our own Doors. On the other Hand, if our Allies had sent another Army to our Assistance, and fresh Supplies had been still pour'd in on each Side, in what a happy State had we been, when our Country had been the Seat of War, our Goods the Spoil of Foreigners, and our Selves the Derision of all the World? It must be allow'd, after all the Exceptions which have been rais'd against the Peace, that thereby these Mischiefs have been prevented, and the Way

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pav'd for his Majesty's Passage, into an undisturb'd Possession of his Throne, which is sufficient to atone for all its pretended Defects.

What the same Party did on the unhappy Occasion of the Death of the late Queen, has shewn the highest Perseverance in the same Sentiments ; notwithstanding all the Rubs they met with in the Way. It was indeed but Just that the same Hands which had begun, and and carried on that great Work, should have the Honour of giving the finishing Stroke without Delay ; therefore, the King was unanimously, and heartily proclaim'd ; the Parliament was no sooner assembled, but they resolv'd to support the Publick Credit, and settl'd a Revenue on his Majesty, equal to any of his Royal Predecessors, and suitable to his high Rank, and their Expressions of Zeal and Loyalty ; and all this with so much Expedition, that the News of one, follow'd at the Heels of the other so close, that his Majesty was scarce well inform'd that he was King of *Great Britain*, before he had Notice, what Provision was made for the Maintenance of that Dignity.

I see (said he) you are big with something, of which you want to unburthen

burthen your self; but I shall prevent you, and at the same time give you Ease, and I hope Satisfaction; it is urg'd as a wonderful Crime in the Tories, that in the first Session of the last Parliament, they did not fall in with the Motion for inviting over the Duke of *Cambridge*, and this, forsooth, is to be look'd on as a great Mark of Disaffection, which duly weig'd, will appear directly contrary, for tho' it was indeed, to have been hoped, that his Royal Highness had too much Temper and Prudence, to have been drawn by the Party which proposed that Invitation, into any Measures, contrary to those of Her Majesty; yet it was plain, that Party thought to Strengthen themselves in their Efforts against the Queen and her Ministers, by putting him at their Head, so that there was but too much Reason to fear, that his coming over at that time, might not only endanger the Peace of the Kingdom, but the Succession its self.

But if we look back a little further, we shall find there was a time, when a like Motion was made by the Tories, in the Behalf of the Princess *Sophia*, which was rejected by the Whigs, with
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much more Contempt, than was consistent with their pretended Regard to that Family: That Princess had express'd her Willingness to come over, if the Parliament thought it for the Good of the Kingdom, and if it could be done in such a Manner, as would make her coming agreeable to the Queen (which I think, was a Circumstance not much consider'd in the latter Case) Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, being then in the *Hannover* Court, and not as it seems in the Secret here, was amaz'd at this Proceeding, he wonder'd to find his Friends act so contrary to their former Opinions, and could not imagine, that those who spoke against her, were her Friends, or those who spoke for her, were Enemies; upon which, he writes a long expostulating Letter to the Earl of *Stamford*; but so great a Respect had they for the Mistress, that this Letter of the Servant, undoubtedly not writ without her Privity, was burnt, as a Libel, by the Hands of the common Hangman, and so much further resented, that one who vindicated the Letter in Print, was prosecuted; and the Lord *Hallifax* going over soon after, Ambassador to that Court, Sir *Rowland Gwyn* was

was not suffer'd to appear, but sent out of the Way, to remain at *Hamburgh*, during that Lord's continuance there; and how they baffl'd another Motion, of the same Nature, by a bantring Address, is well enough known.

The Honesty of this Party, and the Sincerity of their Affections to that House, will further appear, when we consider that these Nations were then deeply engag'd in a War, against Princes who own'd the Title, and supported the Interest of one, who pretended a Right to our Monarchy. The *Scots*, naturally inclin'd to *France*, were generally inflam'd, and had newly pass'd an *Act of Exclusion*, against the Successor to the Crown of *England*, unless, that during her Majesty's Life, such Concessions were made, as could not be done without our Ruin, and to back this Exclusion. Their People were Arm'd and Monthly Disciplin'd; yet the Whigs could then see no Danger in all this, to the Protestant Succession, but afterwards, when that Succession was further secur'd by Law, acknowledg'd by all *Europe*, and no Hopes left to its Rival, either of Foreign Succour, or Domestic Attempts in his Favour, and when
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her Majesty her self offer'd to come zealously into any Proposal, which could further contribute to its Security, provided that it did not derogate from her Dignity. The World was then alarm'd with perpetual Cries, as if it was *then most in Danger*, and all those who could see no Reason for this Noise, and would not run all the wild Lengths of that designing Faction, were branded as disaffected, for opposing their Attempts to force the Queen, oppress her Servants, and ruin the Peace of the Kingdom. In short, the whole Carriage of the *Tories* in the Affair of the Succession, as in all other Things, has always been such, as was consistent with the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, the Security of the Church of *England*, and their Duty to the Possessor of the Throne. They made the Settlement, but were against its taking Place before its due time, they promoted every thing which could really secure it, but oppos'd those Projects, which under that Colour, would have hazarded the Publick Peace, and the Succession its Self; they did not for their own Interest make their Court to the Successor, at
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the Expence of their Loyalty, but preserved their Allegiance to the Queen intire during her Life, and when she was no more, transmitted it intire to her Successor with the same Zeal and Loyalty.

Did his Majesty see all these Things in a true Light? Do you imagine his own Judgment would not inform him that those who had always supported the just Authority of the Crown, and been loyal and faithful to his Predecessors, were more likely to be good and faithful Servants, than they who had betray'd their Princes, and preach'd and practis'd Resistance? That to settle the Crown upon his Family and secure his peaceable Possession of it with the Revenues belonging to it, were greater Proofs of true Affection than large Pretences and insatiable Cravings. That the Interest of his Kingdoms being twisted with his own, those were his best Friends, who were the best Friends to their Country. And lastly, that those who were most zealously affected to the Church established by Law, of which his Majesty is now the Head, and with which he and all his Successors are, by the Conditions of their Title,

tle, obliged to join in Communion, were fittest to be chosen to assist him in the Defence of it; and that the Employing Men of a contrary Stamp would be little better than setting Wolves to keep the Sheep.

At this Rate my Neighbour run on, as if he had been an Exception to the Complaints of his Friends, and had a Patent to monopolize the Use of Talking, which I could not allow, and therefore was resolved to come in for a Share. I told him, not without some Emotion, that I found what he was driving at, that I could not endure this threadbare Cant of the Churches Danger; that the Revival of it, at this Time, to create Jealousies and Apprehensions, did but ill suit with their pretended Affection and Loyalty to the King: That they ought to rest satisfied with his Majesty's Oaths, Declarations and Professions: That all who were employ'd in publick Stations, were Members of that Church, and obliged to qualify themselves by the highest Act of Communion with it, and therefore it was absurd to think they could act contrary to the Interest of the Religion which they profess'd, and the Church of which they were Members, which would be a kind of political Self-Murder, not to be committed by
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any Man in his Senses : That I hoped no good Subject had any Reason to be uneasy at any Thing his Majesty had done, especially any of those who had made such a Noise in the World with their Passive Doctrines : That this would renew the Scandal thrown upon their Church at the Revolution, that her boasted Obedience would last no longer than the Court Sunshine, and that if the Beams of Favour were withdrawn and they should fancy themselves touch'd, Nature would rebel against Principle.

Your whole Party (says he) have so often diverted themselves with that Expression, that they grow dull upon it ; but it is a Sign they are barren of other Matter. They can own Resistance as their Principle, and write Volumes in its Vindication ; but if a Tory Author happens to think it imprudent in Governors to push the Subjects too far, lest they force 'em from their Principles, this is an unpardonable Crime ; yet in that slavish Country *France*, Monsr. *Perefixe* could, in a like Caution, say, that tho' Kings had their Power from God, Obedience depended on the Humour of the People, and I never heard he was question'd for it. But do not screen the Actions of your Party

under the sacred Shadow of Majesty; the Danger we apprehend, is not from him any more than from the late Queen, whose Affections to this Church none could ever doubt. We have an absolute Reliance on his Wisdom, his Justice and the Words of his most gracious Declaration, that he will maintain the Church of *England*, tho' we know those Words are taken in a very extended Sense, by some modern Expositors, who under that Denomination take in all the Sects tollerated in this Part of *Britain*, altho' some of them have hardly a Pretence to Christianity; for which Reason perhaps the Words *as by Law Established* were left out of the Answers to some late Ad——s—ses. But tho' we have all the Respect for his Majesty's Authority, which becomes good Subjects and Members of the most loyal Church in the World, tho' we know we are always bound to submit to the supreme Power: We cannot think we are oblig'd to approve all that is acted under it. Our Laws tell us, the King can do no Wrong, but we know that Ministers are not infallible, nor always honest; and as our Histories are full of Examples of ill Counsellors,

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in all Reigns, it is in vain to hope that this will be free from them ; by such, the best Rules of Government may be not only render'd useless , but by a wrong Application, like the most sovereign Remedies, may become pernicious and dangerous, the best Friends to the Government may be mark'd as Enemies, and then Injustice may pass for Justice, and the People under the best of Princes may suffer all the Inconveniencies they can fear from the worst ; I hope this will not be our Case, and I hope the Church is in no Danger ; but what has been may be, and it is a Part of Prudence, to provide against Possibilities. I must confess, the Uneasiness of your Party at any Insinuations of that Kind, makes me the more suspicious it looks as if you would not have us fear any Danger ; that not taking Care to guard against it, you may take the Advantage of our Security. But certainly it is not a Thing of that small Concern, as to be quite neglected, tho' we could look upon it only as a mere temporal Affair, yet, as any considerable Alteration in it must necessarily occasion new Schisms in the Church, and Factions in the State ; these ought to be avoided

avoided and prevented, if possible ; but I fancy that on a small Inquiry it will appear that our Fears now are not altogether Chimerical, nor quite so groundless as those, which not long since so wonderfully terrified your Party on the Score of Popery. We know the Papists in this Island to be so inconsiderable in themselves, and so disabled by our Laws, that they can give us no Disturbance, and the utmost of their Desires is to live in quiet, and to pay no more than double Taxes. What would you have of them, you would not quite destroy them, that would be knocking off the Handles of your Cause. No, my Friend, our Danger lies in another Quarter ; Popery has been only made a Stalking Horse, to hide the Gunner, or used like Fascines to cover the Enemy in their Approaches, and we have fancied we have seen Trees move, when they have only been Branches in the Hands of those who have under false Colours disturbed the Peace of our *Israel* for above 100 Years, who once brought us into Confusion, and ruined both our Religion and Government, they knew they could not subvert one without the other, and therefore they
levell'd

levell'd their Batteries first against the Church, and when they had ruin'd that, down went the Throne; but not being able to raise any new regular Building, at length the old Form, both in Church and State was restor'd, but hardly re-establish'd; when the old Enemies of our Church and Monarchy renewed their Attacks, which they have ever since repeated, to the great Danger of both; yet we may in great Measure say with *David*, 'tis not mine Enemy which hath done this. Those who dissent from the Establish'd Church had been long since easily quelled, and had they not been assisted by our false Brethren, who, for their own Ends have bolster'd them up, they had found it the most prudent Course to sit down quietly in Peace and Charity with their Neighbours, and Submission under the Government. We have too many among us, who, tho' upon very material Considerations, profess the establish'd Religion, yet when any Question arises, relating to its Safety or Welfare, we know before-hand on which Side of it they are to be found; these Men go to Church indeed, and so must he who robs a Church; and it is to be fear'd,
that

that one as well, as the other make use of it only as a Passage to temporal Emolument ; they are with us, but not for us ; they can pray against Schism in the Church, and plead for it in the Senate ; an Enemy under the Vail of Friendship is worse and more dangerous than he who appears bare-fac'd, worse, as he adds Treachery to Malice, and more dangerous, as we have not the same Means of Defence against him. These counterfeit Friends are within our Walls, and therefore we have the more Reason to be upon our Guard. In a frontier Town, are any fit to be trusted who are known to hold Correspondence with the Enemy, and if such Men should not only oppose the strengthening with new Works those Parts which were weakest and most expos'd, but propose that the old Fortifications should be pull'd down, or being over-ruled, should open a Postern to let in foreign Troops, and all this while be angry if the Burghers should think the Place in any Danger ; could any Man be so infatuated as to believe they did not design to betray and ruin the Garrison, and that they ought not rather to be hang'd than Trusted. Is not this

this something like our Case, have we not been once sack'd and pillag'd, and since the Enemy was beaten out, have we not still been under a kind of Blockade, is there not too good an Understanding between some of us and the Besiegers, are not the *Test Act* and other Laws made for the Defence of the establish'd Church to be esteem'd as its Fortifications. Can those then be thought Friends, who endeavour to abolish the Laws already made, or oppose the making any new ones which are necessary for its Security. Pray tell me freely what you think of those who soon after the Revolution struck at the *Sacramental Test*, the greatest Bulwark of the Church of *England*, which, if that were once abrogated, would be laid on a Level with every petty Sect in the Nation, or of those, who when the Dissenters had found the Way of leaping over that Fence, did so long and so vigorously oppose the making of a Law to prevent that which you truly call the highest Act of Communion from being profan'd into the highest Act of Hypocrisy, and that which was instituted as a Token of unfeigned Love and Charity, to be perverted to the Support of Mis-

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chief and Division; if they afterwards pushed on an Act of the like Nature with no less Zeal, was it not to divide and ruin the Party, which they thought Friends to it; and if that could be done, what could hinder them from repealing it; their Inclinations are plain enough to be read in the Proceedings relating to the Schism Bill, and they are so uneasy under both these good Laws, as they think they weaken their Props; that they will certainly get rid of them if they can. Charity inclines me to believe, that some of those who embraced the impracticable Design of a Comprehension, might perhaps mean well; but what can we think of others, even Dignitaries in our Church, who were so over-complaisant to the Dissenters, that they were willing to have yeilded to such Terms as would have excluded a great Number of good Men, to take in such as were fitter for their Turn, which, instead of healing old Rents, would have made new ones; and instead of bringing the Dissenters to Church, would have carried the Church into the Conventicle, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the chief Projectors; for what were fresh Oaths every

every Day ramm'd down the Throats of Clergymen, but in hopes their Stomachs would refuse them, and that Refusal not only unqualify a Part, but set a Mark of Disaffection on the whole Body. Why was the solemn Parade of an Impeachment dress'd up against One of them, for preaching a Doctrine, without which, no Civil Government can subsist; but to seal up the Mouths of the Clergy, that they should not dare to call a Spade, a Spade, and to have grafted a new Test upon the Impeachment, either to bend their Honesty, or to break their Power, and put them out of a Capacity of opposing the Designs of their sworn Enemies. By these Methods it was hoped to have wrought as great an Alteration in the inferior Clergy, as the Prerogative had made in the higher Order. If hitherto their Designs have proved abortive, we are beholden to the lower Clergy, and the Country Gentlemen. It is these which under Providence we are to thank, that the Face of our Constitution in Church and State yet remains, for which Reason, one has been loaded with Taxes, and the other with Calumnies; the former must not be suf-

fer'd to continue on their Seats in the Convocation-House, nor the others come within the Walls of the House of Commons; if all the Malice, Craft and Briberies, of a strong, a wicked and a rich Combination can keep them out, what Arts have not been used to debauch the Minds of our young Gentry, to give them a Bent in their tender Years. What was the Meaning of the Project of breaking into the Statutes of Colleges, which oblige the Fellows to take Holy Orders, but to take the Education of our Youth out of the Hands of the Orthodox Clergy, and commit that Trust to Sectarists, Deists, and Free-thinkers, to confound all the Notions of Religion and Morality, that they might the easier introduce what they thought fit; with the same Views have private Tutors and Academies been encouraged, and others sent to *Holland* and *Scotland*, for Principles of Religion and Government; but this was a kind of slow Poison, and therefore for a quicker Operation, Swarms of foreign Locusts must be brought over to devour the Land, and the Scum of all Nations naturalised and enfranchised, to make a Ballance upon the Church Party, and set up in every Town a Kennel of Mungrels, to bark

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and bite, and come over a Stick at the Word of Command. Some think that the new Whim of naturalising the *Jews*, and making them capable of possessing Lands, and enjoying Honours and Preferments, indiscriminately with our Natives, may, if well improv'd, revive the Image of old *Palestine*, and turn our Senate into a Sanhedrim. I confess I do not think this Jest is intended to be carried so far, but the *Jews* are very rich and numerous, and if they could be encourag'd to leave the several Parts wherein they are dispers'd, and they, among others, make Settlements here; 'tis hop'd this in a little Time would cast the Weight of the landed Interest into another Scale. But, in truth, the Bottom of these Designs now is to make a Gap, tho' you do it backwards, for fear of your Eyes. The Parliament which made the Act of Succession, to take Care as far as in them lay, that the publick Revenues might not be made the Prey of Strangers, and that our Councils should not be directed by foreign Interest, or our Constitution endanger'd by strengthening its Enemies with outlandish Auxiliaries, did provide, *That no Foreigner, altho' naturalised, should be capable*

capable of either sitting in Privy-Council, or Parliament, or enjoying any Offices or Trusts, Civil or Military, or Grants of Lands from the Crown. And this you would now break thro', but take Care, remember your Friend Steel compares the Act of Succession to the Ark of God, which carried Death to the bold Hand that touch'd it, and certainly it ought to be sacredly inviolable. If I may reassume a Military Metaphor. The whole Act is like a Cittadel built for a lasting Security to our Religion, Rights and Liberties; the Succession it self is but as one Bastion of it, so that whoever goes about to demolish any of the rest, endangers the whole Fabrick, and ought to be look'd on as an Enemy both to his King and Country; what are those then who have already batter'd down Two Bastions of this Cittadel, formerly thought by themselves absolutely necessary to preserve us from Corruption and Male-Administration; One of these was a Clause enacting, That every Resolution in Council should be signed by such Members of it as should advise the same; but they thank you, they do not like that Laws should cut both Ways, they would always have the

the Back towards themselves, and the Edge to their Enemies ; had this continued in Force, some might soon have been convicted by their own Hands. The other was a self-denying Clause, to render all those who should have any Office, or Place of Profit under the King, or Pension from the Crown, incapable of Sitting in the House of Commons. This was another two-edg'd Sword ; they could not be chosen Members without Money, and they would not part with their Money, without Hopes of a good Return ; their Service in the House was to be their Recommendation at Court, and without getting into both, they could neither secure themselves, nor carry on their Cause : Away with the Mask then, and tell us plainly what you aim at, as your Forefathers did when *Dominion was founded in Grace, and the Saints were to inherit the Earth.* However the Breaches already made, can at present only be lamented, as the Country Gentlemen have now but too much Reason, in Relation to the latter of them, and the whole Nation may too soon regret the Loss of them both. But if after this we should let in an Innundation of Foreigners ;
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if the Judges Clause, or that which obliges the King to the Communion of the Church of England, or others of those well built Fences of the English Liberties and Religion should be demolished, which I hope we shall never see, (for certainly those who are Friends to the K——, will consider how far breaking the Conditions, whereon any Act or Thing is establish'd, may weaken what is so establish'd thereon) but this I must say, that if such Designs should be accomplish'd, the Consideration and Intention of the Succession-Act, will be frustrated, and all the Blood and Treasure spent to secure our Liberties and Religion, will be thrown away to no Purpose.

But to proceed, if we look into the Behaviour of your Friends in the present Reign, we shall find it all of a Piece with the rest, all tending to raise Divisions and weaken the Hands ye should support, at least if the old Maxims are true, *That a Nation is stronger for being united within its self; and that the Hearts of the People are the Princes greatest Treasure and Felicity*, certainly never any one came to the Throne of this Kingdom with fairer Opportunities of making

making himself the Darling of his whole People, of putting an End to Faction and burying all the odious Names of Distinction in utter Oblivion. His high Abilities and Royal Virtues did not exceed the Ideas which the Nation in general had conceived of them. No Prince was ever more universally rever'd and belov'd, nor his Title more generally acknowledged and supported both at Home and Abroad, and his Way to a happy Reign plainly chalked out, even in the Act of Settlement it self: But the old Story was to go on, and the King's best Subjects still represented as disaffected, and that all their Expressions of Loyalty were only the Effects of a sudden Conversion on the base Motive of Fear. In this Manner by turning the Telescope the wrong Way, the greater Part of the Nation appear'd the less, and seem'd to be of the Colour with which the Glasses were tinged; this was also the true Meaning of raising the Stocks when her late Majesty lay on her Death Bed, (which is very easily done by half a Dozen Confederates to serve a Turn) they thought this would look as if the People in general were uneasy under her, and that

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these great Pretenders and their Party were the sole Masters of Credit : And thus in Truth they did not bid for Stock, but for the Nation. But all these false Colours laid on by the Whigs and their Dutch Allies, would easily have been washed off, had some others been suffered to give a truer Information. To prevent this, ——— was surrounded and guarded, like the Property or Prisoner of a Party. Some who came to make Tenders of their Duty, were abused and affronted, and one barbarously Murder'd. The Royal Palace was not an Asylum even to the Clergy, against the Insults of a mix'd Rabble of Footmen and their Masters, (which was the first Riot we heard of,) nor was that Parliament which had given the greatest and most convincing Proofs of their Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty, even in his own Opinion and that of the Lords Justices, favour'd with the Honour of seeing his Face or waiting on him at his Coronation. The unaccountable Rapidity of the Success of these Methods is well enough remembered. And now right or wrong those who were beaten must bear the Blame, and their Losses must be made the

the Measure of their Crimes. The Temper and Resignation of the falling Party was misinterpreted as Consciousness, and the Rudeness and Insolence of the Victors carried a Colour of Justice. Those who knew nothing of the Matter, concluded that what they saw could not be done without very great Reason or Necessity; all People were struck with Amazement, and even the Whigs and Dissenters wonder'd at their own good Fortune. There was now a fit Opportunity to feel the Pulse of the Nation, and try how far the Victory could be pushed before the People return'd to their Senses. The best of Englishmen were scandalously reviled, and the Memory of the best of Queens basely insulted, almost without Contradiction: But when they came to set Bills on the Church Doors that the House was to be let and the Goods to be sold; when they not only prepared to burn the Effigies of a Divine, who was thought to have suffer'd in the Cause of the Church of *England*, but in some Places to abuse in the like Manner their deceased Sovereign, and to commit the Liturgy of our Church to the Flames; these Provocations occa-

sion'd the Disturbances and Riots which
 you and your Friends complain'd of,
 wherein if the Aggressors had been so
 strong as they thought themselves, or
 the others so tame as was expected, *Vox*
Populi might have been once again *Vox*
Dei. The Inclinations of the People
 might have been made use of as in *Scot-*
land about 26 Years before, and the
 other Party might in vain have cried
 out for Help. I am as great an Enemy
 to Mobs and Tumults as any Man; but
 certainly in this Case if the Resentments
 of the Populace had fallen heavier than
 they did on the Heads of these Incendi-
 aries, it had been no Treason, nor the
 Correction of such sawey Servants any
 Sign of Disaffection to their common
 Master: But the Carrying this Matter
 so high is well enough understood, and
 sure it is no less apparent why all those
 who have shewn themselves zealous
 for the Interest and Safety of the Reli-
 gion, to which they are bound by all
 the Ties of Profession, Conscience, Oaths,
 and Interest, are daily aspersed and ex-
 posed, under Names and Figures of
 Contempt, and not only so, but the
 whole Order of the inferior Clergy dig-
 nified with the Title of *Scaramouches*
 by

by the mercenary Pen of an Apostate Buffoon, who Weekly vents his dull Ridicule on their Characters and Persons, to render them and their holy Office contemptible and vile in the Eyes of the People, and profanely derides the Care of the Church as only employ'd about the Danger of a Close-Stool, as if those pretty Gentlemen who defiled the Churches at *Barrington* and *St. James's* with their nasty Ordure, had put those sacred Buildings to their proper Use.

The present Treatment of the Clergy is so exactly copied from that which their Predecessors met with from the same Party before the Grand Rebellion, that we cannot think it to be with any other Design, and if the Bishops have at present more of their Favour, it is for the Sake of the Men, not out of Respect to the Order; the Vertue of the others is in Truth their greatest Crime; they have foreseen Danger at a Distance, and have by their Courage, Vigilance and Constancy spoil'd some fine Schemes, and at this Time see a little further into the Designs of some who are neither Friends to them nor the Religion they profess, than it seems it is convenient that

that they should: You would neither have them see nor feel, or at least not believe their Senses; the Lashes they receive should only tickle them, and they should take all in good Part, nor should they think the Church in any Danger till they see it pull'd down. Our Church is founded on a Rock, and we hope the Gates of Hell will never prevail against it; but ought not our Watchmen to be upon the Guard, should they cry yet, a little Sleep, yet, a little Slumber, and neglect their Duty, trusting to Miracles for our Preservation, would not this be tempting Omnipotence, and if they should be surpris'd, would they be excusable either before God or Man. How would they have been blam'd had they been guilty of such Cowardice or Remissness in the Reign of King *James II.* when they stood formost in the Breach to their perpetual Honour, and can the same thing be a Virtue at one Time and a Vice at another, or can we be in no Danger but from *Popery*. Was it by the Papists the Church of *England* was once overturn'd, or by the Sectarists, with the Assistance or by Connivence of some of her own unnatural Sons; but you mis-

call

call the Crime of these, had you term'd it *Parricide*, you had been near the Matter, and perhaps a greedy Eye on the Patrimony may be none of the least Temptations to it. Had it not been for the Treachery of her pretended Friends and the Remissness of her own Sons, our Sister Church of *Scotland* had not been subdu'd and brought under by a Rump of a Convention, and hir'd Mobs, and if we think our selves secure till we are in the Power of the same Enemies, how can we expect a kinder Fate. I hope our Religion is not now in Danger, but certainly Care to keep it out of Danger is no Crime: You may remember how very careful your Friends were about the Succession, which altho' no Enemy appear'd, tho' no Attempts were made to repeal any Laws made for its Security, but on the contrary, Offers of any farther Securities, which could be reasonably propos'd, yet that must be then in Abundance of Danger; then it seems we were at the last Gasp; but the Established Religion, the Safety of which was one of the chief Ends of that Limitation, must be thought in a safe and flourishing Condition, tho' she should be in the Power
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of those who have so often shewn their good Will ; if we should see the Mastiffs muzzl'd, we must not think there are any Designs to steal the Sheep ; or if the Shepherds should turn their Backs or assist in the Work, we must not suspect them of being in the Confederacy ; but should a Time come, when all who have ever shewn any Regard to the Constitution either in Church and State, should be disabled and put out of Power ; if we should see the whole Body of Deists, Atheists and Free-thinkers (who would be ready to sacrifice Religion to secular Ends) joyn'd in a strict Confederacy with the United Forces of Sectarists and Scismaticks of all Perswasions, and strengthened with foreign Interests, if the Court should be compos'd of the former, and the Returns of Members of Parliament made by the latter, what is there which is dear to an honest Englishman that may not be in Danger.

For if such a mischievous Harmony, such a *Concordia Discors* should ever happen, that a corrupt Ministry should be sure of a great Majority in a House of Peers at their Devotion, and procure the like by Threats, Promises or Bri-

Briberies and false Returns in the lower House, no Man knows at what Rate they may be willing to purchase their own Establishment, or the other, to sell the *English* Liberties and Religion, and how far the King himself, even if well appriz'd of the Tendency, or Consequences of any Projects advanc'd to these Purposes, may be able to prevent them in as difficult to foresee.

The Temper of some People at this Time, shews that the Author of a Sheet writ three Years since, knew the Party very well, and I wish he may not be a true Prophet throughout the following Paragraph, where speaking of a Change, *Then* (says he) *Things will return of Course into the old Hands of those whose little Fingers will be found heavier than their Predecessors Loins; they will resume their Power with a Spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last Truimvirate. The Ministers may fall the first Sacrifices to their Vengeance, but these are the smallest Mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning Exiles, what Security can a Prince hope for, his Person, or his Crown, or even for the Monarchy its self; he must expect to see his best Friends brought to the Scaffold for asserting his*
M Rights;

Rights; to see his Prerogative trampled on, and his Treasures applied to feed the Avarice of those who make themselves his Keepers; to hear himself treated with Insolence and Contempt; to have his Family purged at Pleasure, and to retain even the Name and Shadow of a King no longer than his Ephori shall think fit.

After this Scrap of Quotation, he fell upon some late Pieces of Management, as the Violence and Universality of the Changes in the Court, the Army, and Country, alledging, they could not be greater, even in *Barcelona*, where the Subjects had revolted and persisted in their Revolt to the utmost Extremity. The unpopular Prorogations and Dissolution of a Parliament, which (as he said) had merited so well the Removal of J——s; for no other Fault, says he, that we know of, but too much Law and Honesty: The Number of new Creations so much complain'd against in the last Reign, and without the Necessity which then pleaded in its Justification; the Instructions about Preachers, the Stile of some late Proclamations, &c. making such Remarks upon each of them as I do not care to comit to Paper; the rather because I do not doubt

doubt but you hear enough of them, concluding from all these, that he could not think, but that a great Deal of what we have seen was wholly calculated to the Gratification of Revenge and Avarice, and the Support of a Party without any Regard to the true Interest either of the King or Country, that nothing could in his Opinion prevent the Mischiefs which he apprehended; but a good House of Commons ; Therefore (says he) I hope, that whilst an Opportunity is yet in our Hands, we shall take Care to make such a Choice as may preserve us from what we fear, and send up such Members as prefer the Interest of their own Country to any foreign Nation whatsoever ; such as have so true a Sense of the Blessings of Peace, as to prefer it before the Calamities of a ruinous War, to impoverish our selves and agrandise our Allies ; such as have shewn themselves true Friends to the Church of *England*, and never thought it could be too well secur'd ; such as have always been ready to support the Publick Credit, and the Honour of the Crown and Government, and to maintain the Liberties of their fellow Subjects: These

are the Men which are and have been the truest Friends to the *King* and to the *Protestant Succession*; if we do this, we may secure the future Happiness, both of King and People; if not, we may never have a second Opportunity, but may be forc'd to sit down with the Comfort of *Sero sapiunt Phryges*. He was still going on, when Company coming in broke off the Discourse. I confess I was sorry to hear so much as I had already; I doubt whatever our Designs are, our Manner of proceeding has not much advanc'd them: If we have lost the Substance by catching at the Shadow, and our Enemies are rallied and reinforc'd while we have been rifling the Camp, we must thank ourselves: I am no Politician, but I am apt to believe, that if only some of the Tories had been displac'd, and others of the more harmless Sort left for a While in some Posts, not of too much Trust and Power, it would have been look'd on as a Personal, not a Party Cause; those who had been laid by, would have been thought to have deserv'd it, and Male-Administrations would have gone down more currently; this would have lessen'd their Interest

terest in the Country, and the others would have been secur'd to us, and this would have a general Effect upon the lower Form of Electors; so that we might much more easily have had a Parliament to our Minds, and then have proceeded without Opposition, and in three Years Time have done what we pleas'd; whereas by declaring open War, we have alarm'd the whole Country, and open'd their Mouths, as well as their Eyes. *Festina lente* is a good old Proverb, but I find we have forgot both that and our old Friend *Moderation*; we have indeed laid our selves too open, and I am afraid the Course we have taken (except to some private Pockets) will be of no Advantage, either to our selves, or to him we pretend to serve, it revives in me the Idea of a late Reign, which I shall give you out of a Pamphlet, writ after the Revolution in Favour of K. *J*——s; but not of his Administration, and so conclude.

It was the Extremity of Imprudence to disoblige the greatest Part of all Orders of Men, who had been most zealously for the two King *Charles's*, (and let me add the establish'd Religion) and
stood

stood close to his Succession, removing them from the Council-Board and other Places of Honour, Profit, or Trust in the Court, from their Lieutenancy, Justice of Peacehip, or Magistracy in Corporations, and filling their Rooms, either with such Persons as had no Interest, or who had nothing to recommend them but their Rhodomontado Promises, or were the Violentest in declaring against the persecuting Spirit of the Church of *England*.

Whereas they should by a skillful Application have endeavour'd to assure the Minds of the Nobility, Clergy, Magistracy and Gentry, that the King aim'd at no other Thing, than to preserve the Church of *England*, as the National Church, and obtain an equitable Liberty for Roman Catholicks and Dissenters to exercise their religious Worship, without invading any Rights of the Church of *England*, only depriving them of their compulsive Power on some others, to conform, or suffer the Penalties the Law had provided.

But we had nothing of all this ; but on the other Hand, caressing the new Allies, and encouraging their Animosities against the Church of *England*,
purging

purging Corporations, without any Regard to Consequence's fitness or unfitness of Men, thinking there was no more in it, than to give Names in to a Secretary, to be inserted in a *Mandate*, according to the Informations of three or four itinerant Informers, or the Dissenters Agitators, who for that Purpose were constantly with my Lord S—, Mr. B—, Mr. P—, or others, who either out of Ignorance, or worse, possess'd the King with an Opinion, that the Dissenters were the Men of greatest Interest in Corporations; so that the only Way to gain Burgeses from them in any ensuing Parliament, was to restore such as had been displac'd by the Corporation Act, and remove all that would not promise their Assent to the Conditions propos'd, and put in any who would concur with them, tho' but in outward Appearance.

Certainly never any Pretenders to Politicks took so direct a Course to ruin the whole Design of the well-meaning King, who now could neither see nor hear any Thing, but by the Eyes and Ears of those who had shut out all the Loyal Men they could find about him.

*Your Sentiments on this long Letter,
will oblige, &c.*

[The page contains faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side. A circular stamp or seal is visible near the top center.]